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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 HA-05 EB-08 /115 W
----------072027 200255Z /21
O P 200125Z JAN 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9147
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0180

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UNSC
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: UK/US DISCUSSIONS WITH HARRIMAN JANUARY 19

REF: LONDON 00867 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN TALKS WITH US AND UK PREMREPS JANUARY 19, NIGERIAN PERMREP AND SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT HARRIMAN SAID THAT NIGERIAN, ZAMBIAN AND TANZANIAN PERMREPS HAD DECIDED TO TRY TO AVOID ANY DEBATE OR RESOLUTIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DURING JANUARY CONCERNING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA, IN RETURN FOR A UK/US DECLARATION WHICH WOULD FLATLY CONFIDENTIAL

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CONDEMN ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT REACHED BY THE SMITH REGIME. HARRIMAN WAS UNCLEAR ON WHETHER A COUNCIL DEBATE ON OIL SANCTIONS COULD BE AVOIDED AS WELL. END SUMMARY.

1. US/UK PREMREPS MET JANUARY 19 WITH SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT HARRIMAN (NIGERIA) TO DICSUSS

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THE SC SCENARIO FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE MONTH. STILL APPEARING UNSURE AND UNCOMFORTABLE WITH HIS NEW RESPONSIBILITIES, HARRIMAN SAID THAT THE UN AFRICAN GROUP'S CONTACT GROUP (AGCG), LED BY THE PERMREPS OF NIVERIA, ZAMIBIA AND TANZANIA, HAD DECIDED THAT THEIR WISEST COURSE FOR JANUARY WOULD BE TO SEEK A FORMAL UK/US DECLARATION STATING THAT THEY "WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" ACHIEVED BY THE SMITH REGIME. SUVH A STATEMENT WOULD, AFTER APPROPRIATE CONCULTATIONS IN NEW YORK, BE ISSUED BY THE FCO IN LONDON AND READ INTO THE SC RECORD DURING A FORMAL SESSION ON RHODESIA ON JANUARY 25TH. THE AGCG WANTED ONLY THE DECLARATION. GIVEN A SUITABLE DECLARATION, THEY DID NOT WANT A DEBATE, A SERIES OF STATEMENTS, OR A FORMAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HARRIMAN LEFT THE IMPRESSION, AT TIMES FUZZY, THATIF THE UK/US CAME UP WITH A SUITABLE DECLARATION, THE AGCG WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT SEEK ANY COUNCIL DEBATE OR RESOLUTIONS ON OIL SANCTIONS.

2. HARRIMAN CAUTIONED THAT WHAT THE AGCG WANTED WAS NOT NECESSARILY WHAT WOULD HAPPEN. HARRIMAN SAID HE HAD CONVINCED COMMISSIONER GARBA THAT A RHODESIA DEBATE WOULD BE UNWISE. THE RUSSIANS, HOWEVER, WERE PRESSING FOR DEBATES AND RESOLUTIONS.
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MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN GROUP WOULD "TEAR APART" THE AGCG POSITION BUT WOULD NOT BE GIVEN THE CHANCE. THE AGCG HOPED TO END-RUN THE AFRICAN GROUP ON THE WHOLE ISSUE AND NOT SEEK THEIR ADVICE AND CONSENT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0180

3. REGARDING THE WORDING OF A DECLARATION, HARRIMAN SAID THAT, WHILE HE TRUSTED THE PROMISES OF THE US AND UK, IF SMITH CAME UP WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI, "PUBLIC PRESSURES" IN BRITIAN AND THE US COULD CHANGE GOVERNMENT POLICIES. A STRONG DECLARATION AGAINST AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD HELP FORESTALL SUCH PRESSURES. HARRIMAN WATNED A VERY SIMPLE TEXT WHICH FLATLY CONDEMNED ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. A TEXT WHICH WENT TOO FAR INTO MODALITIES FOR A TRANSFER OF POWER/COULD GET HUNG UP "BY NYERERE OR KAUNDA". AMBASSADOR RICHARD SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT FOR HMG TO SAY ANYTHING IN ADVANCE OF THE JANUARY 26 MALTA TALKS WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PATRIOTIC FRONT. AMBASSADOR YOUNG CAUTIONED THAT ANY DECLARATION WHICH APPEARED TO FAVOR THE FORTUNES OF NKOMO AND MUGABE WOULD ONLY PUSH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE FURTHER TOWARD AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. MOREOVER, THE INTERNAL TALKS COULD BE SQUEEZING CONCESSIONS OUT OF SMITH WHICH COULD BE USEFUL LATER; THUS YOUNG RESISTED A "TOTAL CONDEMNATION" OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PROCESS. THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED INCONCLUSIVELY TO VARIOUS ELEMENTS THATMIGHT BE CONTAINED IN AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION. HARRIMAN INSISTED ON A FLAT CONDEMNATION OF INTERNAL TALKS, WARNING THAT OPPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE UK OR US COULD RESULT, AT A MINIMUM, ON SUBMISSION BY AFRICANS TO THE COUNCIL OF THEIR OWN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE AFRICANS, HE SAID,

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BELIEVE THAT "PRESSURES" SHOULD BE EXERTED ON
SMITH NOW, DURING THE INTERNAL TALKS; HARRIMAN
WAS CRITICAL OF UK/US FAILURE TO EXERT SUCH
"PRESSURE".

4. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY ASKED, ASSUMING THE UK/US
CAME UP WITH AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION, IF A
COUNCIL SESSION OR SESSIONS ON RHODESIA IN JANUARY
COULD BE SCRAPPED ENTIRELY. HARRIMAN ANSWERED THAT
HE COULD NOT COMMIT HIMSELF ON THAT POINT.

5. UKUN HAS ASKED FCO TO COME UP WITH AN INITIAL
DRAFT DECLARATION, BASED ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION
THEY HAVE ALREADY DONE (REFTEL). AT THIS TIME,
IT APPEARS THAT THE COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS SCHEDULED
FOR JANUARY 20 WILL BE POSTPONED UNTIL NEXT WEEK,
LEAVING SOME BREATHING ROOM FOR DRAFTING
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AND CONSULTING KEY PLAYERS.

COMMENT: THERE ARE A LOT OF "IFS" IN THE
AGCG TACTICS DESCRIBED TO US BY HARRIMAN, NOT THE
LEAST OF WHICH IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NIGERIANS
STILL ARE UNSURE OF WHAT THEY ARE DOING. A SUITABLE
DECLARATION COULD PRE-EMPT DIVISIVE COUNCIL DEBATES
ON BOTH AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND ON OIL BUT THIS LATTER
POINT IS NOT CERTAIN. WE KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT
HARRIMAN MET FOR TWO HOURS YESTERDAY WITH SANCTIONS
EXPERT RIVERS TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE RESOLUTIONS ON
OIL SANCTIONS.

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